UNITED NATIONS







SECURITY

Distr. GENERAL

A/34/451 S/13527 5 September 1979

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

GENERAL ASSEMBLY
Thirty-fourth session
Item 46 of the provisional agenda*
IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE
STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

SECURITY COUNCIL Thirty-fourth year

Letter dated 5 September 1979 from the Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Viet Nam to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for your information, the text of the speech made by Deputy Foreign Minister Dinh Nho Liem, Head of the delegation of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, at the sixth meeting of the second round of Viet Nam-China talks, on 29 August 1979, and request you kindly to have this letter and its enclosure circulated as an official document of the General Assembly, under item 46 of the provisional agenda, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) NGUYEN NGOC DUNG
Ambassador
Acting Permanent Representative

^{*} A/34/150.

ANNEX

Speech made by Deputy Foreign Minister Dinh Nho Liem, Head of the delegation of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam at the sixth meeting of the second round of Viet Nam-China talks on 29 August 1979

The Viet Nam-China talks have gone through many meetings without making any headway; this situation has not met the expectations of the two peoples and of world public opinion, which have been following the negotiations with interest. Responsibility for it rests entirely with the Chinese side.

As laid down by the two sides, these talks were to settle the problems in the relations between Viet Nam and China, including the following contents: discussion of urgent measures to secure peace and stability in border areas, restoration of normal relations, and an eventual solution to border and territorial disputes between the two countries. In conformity with these purposes and contents, the Vietnamese delegation, with its serious position and attitude of goodwill, put forward right at the first meeting a proposal on the "Main principles and contents of a three-point settlement of the problems concerning the relations between the two countries", including urgent measures to secure peace and stability along the border (see A/34/201-S/13257, annex). This is a very important, sensible and reasonable proposal aimed at solving both the urgent problems and the other fundamental and long-term questions in the relations between Viet Nam and China. The Vietnamese side also took the initiative of advancing "a draft agreement" on a mutual commitment to refrain from armed provocations in order to create a favourable atmosphere for the progress of the talks.

In the context of the ending, not long ago, of the Chinese rulers' war of aggression and owing to the Chinese side's actions, the situation along the border has remained tense. The two sides should have discussed in the first place urgent measures to prevent renewed hostilities and secure peace and stability in border areas as proposed by the Vietnamese side. Nevertheless, with its goodwill and in a spirit of equality and mutual respect, the Vietnamese side has declared its readiness to discuss whatever question in bilateral relations is raised by the Chinese side, according to the method of the two sides' raising in turn questions of interest for discussions at the meetings.

This is a very satisfactory and fair idea which has been highly appreciated by world public opinion. The Vietnamese side has tried its utmost to narrow down the areas of difference and seek common points in order to reach agreement wherever it is possible. As for those questions not yet susceptible of agreement, patient discussions are to be carried on with a view to a solution. We also would like the meetings to be held at a quick tempo so that the talks could yield the earliest results, in the interests of the two peoples and of peace and stability in South-East Asia.

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If the Chinese side had taken a reasonable attitude and had really wanted to settle through negotiations the problems in the relations between the two countries, these talks would have certainly made some progress. Regrettably, it has not done so up to now.

The Chinese side has acted at variance with the purposes and contents of the talks as laid down by the two sides. Running completely counter to its own proposal, it has adamantly evaded the urgent measures to secure peace and stability in border areas. Since the start of the talks, it has never accepted to discuss any question whatever in the bilateral relations raised by the Vietnamese side. It has clung to its eight points of great-Power expansionism and hegemonism, and stubbornly insisted on their being accepted in an attempt to impose on the Vietnamese side a settlement which would be in essence tantamount to Viet Nam's changing its line of independence and sovereignty, relinquishing its territorial sovereignty, and giving up its international obligations, to accept a Pekingfashioned peace, worse even than the "pax americana" of the past. Furthermore, it has raised the problem of a third country, and gone even to the length of considering it to be a pre-condition for the progress of the talks. In co-ordination with its anti-Viet Nam campaign in the international arena and brazen interference through agents in Viet Nam's internal affairs, it has abused this forum to oppose Viet Nam with all possible tricks, from attempts to stir up anti-Viet Nam feelings among the Chinese and South-East Asian peoples with the so-called "Vietnamese refugees issue" to crude attacks on Viet Nam's internal politics. These actions on its part have made the talks even more complicated.

The Chinese side has repeated again and again its contention of Viet Nam's "evading" discussions on the five principles of peaceful coexistence and the "anti-hegemony" principle. It is, however, common knowledge that the Vietnamese side has made it clear in point 2 of its three-point proposal:

"restoration of the normal relations between the two countries on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence: respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity; non-aggression, refraining from the use of force or the threat of use of force; non-interference in the internal affairs of the other side; settlement through negotiations of disputes and differences in the relations between the two sides; development of economic and cultural relations in a spirit of mutual respect and mutual benefit.

"On that basis, to restore railway, civil aviation, postal, etc., relations. To resolve the question of the aftermath of the war."

Regarding the "anti-hegemony" principle, the Vietnamese delegation has also stated its views on various occasions. From the practice of the world people's revolutionary struggle and China's external activities over the years, we have made clear the characteristic features of the Peking rulers' great-Power expansionism and hegemonism. At the same time, we have put forward very correct and practical contents on anti-hegemonism. Obviously, up to the last meeting, the Chinese side had evaded without plausible arguments the five anti-hegemony contents

we put forth at the 5 July 1979 meeting (see A/34/364-S/13449). If the Chinese side is really "not seeking hegemony" and is really "opposing hegemonism" as it claims, let it then take practical actions in line with these five contents.

A serious fact is that, at the last meeting, the Chinese side made a further step and brazenly raised a series of questions to be acted upon "first and foremost" by the Vietnamese side, considering this a pre-condition for the negotiations to progress (see A/34/412-S/13494). The Chinese side has unceasingly clamoured about its "sincerity" to bring the talks forward. However, it has put forth in increasing numbers extremely unreasonable demands, further complicating the contents of the talks and widening the gap between the positions of the two sides. Thus it should be asked: where is its "sincerity"? Where does it want to bring these talks to? The Vietnamese delegation flatly rejects these arrogant demands.

It should be emphasized that the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea have been bound together by a tradition of militant solidarity against the common enemies over these last decades. In face of the danger of aggression and intervention from Peking's great-Power expansionism and hegemonism, it is now an objective and imperative requirement for them to strengthen their solidarity, mutual support and assistance in all fields to defend and build their countries on the principle of respect for the independence and sovereignty of each. The presence of the Vietnamese armed forces in Laos and Kampuchea at the request of their Governments is aimed at strengthening, together with their peoples and armed forces, their capabilities of defence and struggle against all aggressions, interventions and disruptive attempts of the Peking rulers and henchmen to safeguard the fundamental national rights and revolutionary achievements of each country. This is an affair which belongs to bilateral relations among three sovereign countries in keeping with treaties which have been signed. It is entirely just and legal; nobody has any right to interfere. As the imperialist aggressors did in the past, the Peking rulers will surely fail in their schemes to divide the peoples' solidarity.

The Kampuchean people have gained a great, definitive and all-round victory in their struggle to defend their independence and revolutionary achievements and to promote a new life. On 7 January 1979, they overthrew the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, and since that date the so-called "democratic Kampuchea" has definitely ceased to exist, the present revolutionary situation in Kampuchea is irreversible. No reactionary forces, however ruthless and perfidious, can check the steady advance of the Kampuchean people. The recent success of the Kampuchean people's revolutionary tribunal has demonstrated their determination to abolish forever the ferocious genocidal Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime, an unprecedented one in human history. Through the proceedings of the tribunal, which was attended by many well-known lawyers and representatives of many countries and international organizations, broad sections of public opinion have realized even more clearly that the rulers, masters and instigators of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, who fostered and commanded them through tens of thousands of advisers and who equipped them with huge quantities of arms and other war materials, must be held fully

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responsible for this crime of genocide morally, politically and legally. This is a victory not only of the Kampuchean people but also of the conscience of progressive mankind in its entirety. All schemes and acts, overt or covert, so-called to "seek a solution to the problem of Kampuchea", amount to interference in the internal affairs of that people. Pol Pot and Teng Sary, guilty of genocide, sentenced to death by the Kampuchean people's revolutionary tribunal, and under a pursuit warrant, have no right whatever to represent the Kampuchean people at any place and at any forum. Obdurately clinging to the political corpse of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique and trying hard to justify its crimes in a desperate attempt to reimpose a genocidal régime on Kampuchea, the Peking rulers are acting against human conscience and against the trend of history. This brazen act has exposed even more clearly their hegemonistic policy of long-term hostility to the Kampuchean people and of sabotaging peace and stability in South-East Asia. They are doomed to total defeat. The Kampuchean people are the masters of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and its affairs. The People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea is the sole legitimate and legal representative of Kampuchea at home and abroad. Once again we affirm that the Viet Nam-China bilateral talks have absolutely no right to interfere in the affairs of any third country whatsoever.

The situation along the border between Viet Nam and China is growing increasingly tense. The Chinese side is massing there 12 divisions with six army corps farther in the rear. It has indulged in daily violations of Viet Nam's sovereignty and territory, thus sabotaging the peaceful life of the Vietnamese border population. It is frenziedly stepping up war preparations. It has adamantly refused to enter with the Vietnamese side into a mutual commitment to refrain from armed provocations. In the meantime, some Chinese rulers have uttered repeated threats of another aggression against Viet Nam. At the last meeting, the Chinese delegation even affirmed that such threats remained "valid"! The only people who have committed armed provocations, brought about a serious situation along the border between the two countries, and poisoned the atmosphere of the talks are precisely the Chinese rulers. The Chinese side's familiar trick of unceasingly levelling against Viet Nam slanderous charges of border provocations cannot help them evade their responsibility.

Dozens of millions of tons of bombs and shells of the United States imperialists, plus over 1.5 million United States and puppet troops, and likewise the recent attack of 600,000 Chinese troops against the six northern border provinces of Viet Nam, have failed to bring the Vietnamese people to their knees. By launching an aggressive war against the Vietnamese people, who valiantly fought against imperialism and made countless sacrifices over the past 30 years for the sake of their national rights and of peace and freedom of all mankind, the Peking rulers have run counter to the Chinese people's interests, placed themselves in the ranks of the imperialist aggressors, and thoroughly laid bare their features as the most warlike expansionists and hegemonists. Let the Chinese side not entertain the illusion of exerting pressure at the talks through war threats and shaking the rocklike will of the Vietnamese people to unite as one man and resolutely defend the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their fatherland and preserve their correct line of independence and sovereignty. Public

opinion in South-East Asia and the world is realizing ever more clearly and condemning with increasing force Peking's attempts to bring military pressure to bear on Viet Nam, thus creating tensions and menacing peace and stability in this region.

It is insisting on the Chinese side's seriously turning back to its own proposal and reaching immediate agreement with the Vietnamese side on the urgent measures to secure peace and stability along the border between the two countries in order to prevent a new war. There is no evading this demand.

Has the Chinese side come to the negotiating table not to seek a negotiated settlement of the problems concerning the relations between Viet Nam and China with a view to restoring genuine friendship between the two peoples and normal relations between the two States, but to deceive public opinion and to impose through talks its great-Power expansionism and hegemonism on the Vietnamese side?

In many meetings, the Vietnamese side not only made clear the questions it is interested in, but also stated its views about those questions regarded by the Chinese side as "the crux of the matter", "fundamental" issues. The Vietnamese delegation has been and is waiting patiently for the Chinese side to match with practical deeds its words about "peace" and "sincerity". Let the Chinese side state its views and give a positive response to the Vietnamese three-point proposal, in the first place, the urgent measures to secure peace and stability in border areas. Let it join the Vietnamese side in raising in turn questions of interest concerning bilateral relations for discussions in a constructive and equal spirit, in order to reach a satisfactory settlement which meets the interests of the Vietnamese and Chinese peoples and the wishes of the world's people. Whether or not the talks can make headway depends on the Chinese side.